

do all in our power to conquer the doubt and the fears. . . . The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today.”

Roosevelt had another characteristic that endeared him to us as Europeans. Before the advent of radio, the heads of state in Europe had relatively few occasions to address the masses of the people directly. Mussolini may have been the first to use the new medium. His screams from the balcony in Rome opened a new era in political rhetoric. Then came Hitler, who added the roaring of a beast to the political concert. I can still hear his opening: “*Deutsche Männer und deutsche Frauen*” (German men and German women). These words reared a wall of hatred, suspicion, contempt between the Germans to whom the Führer addressed himself and other people who might hear him. The speaker was working himself into a tantrum, and the response of the crowd revealed the wild beast slumbering in the hearts of his listeners despite the varnish of civilization.

Those who had never been exposed to such oratory will hardly understand our reaction to Roosevelt’s fireside chats. His was a wholly new concept of a political speech. He addressed not a crowd but the nation, not from a rostrum but from his home, seated at the fireplace, just as many of his listeners might be seated. When he started his chats, his simple, warm words, “My friends,” embraced everyone who was listening. An invisible aura of goodwill and faith emanated from the White House, enveloping this country and spreading far beyond its borders.

I did not agree with every word of the President. I heard an undertone of social demagoguery in some of his fighting speeches. Perhaps he occasionally overemphasized the rights of citizens without sufficiently stressing their duties; his diatribes about the responsibility of the government for the well-being of individuals sometimes seemed to minimize the responsibility of the individual. These were details, however. Above all, Roosevelt was a master politician; he knew his aim and how to reach it. His aim was magnificent. He enjoyed a good fight, made few mistakes, and suffered few defeats in his political career. One shudders to think where the United States and the world would be without his superb skill in political maneuvering.

Even in the 1930’s and 1940’s, Washington was full of people who were more or less critical of the New Deal. Many critics were concerned about the growth of the national debt and the expenditure of money on public works, which they condemned as boondoggling. During our trips across the country, we observed many post office buildings with columns emulating the façade of a Greek temple. Perhaps some of these architectural creations could have been trimmed down a bit but, seeing them, I thought of Germany. The government of the Weimar Republic had a chance to stop the tide of the bitter reac-